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Names.—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth: 551

Male	*Female*
1. K'u'nu.	1. Hi'nu.
2. He'nu.	2. Wi'ha.
3. Ha'ga.	3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi).
4. Na'gai.	4. Hi'nuŋk'.
5. Naŋxixó'nu.	5. A'ksigaxó'nu.
6. Naŋxixonu'niŋk'a.	6. A'ksigaxónu'niŋk'a.

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [171]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpretation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nųk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ąnųk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nųk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. [60] 551 562 193

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitca'ᵉ, brother of wife.
Hitca'ᵉwiᵉ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcû'ᵉckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcû'ᵉjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcû'ᵉckê' or Hitcû'ᵉjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ᵉwoŋk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other.

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series.

Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, elder brother; *hitcê'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ᵉ*, wife of brother; and *hicil'ᵉ'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

hini.	hinu.
hiniŋk'.	hinuŋk.
hicikê'.	hiciga'ᵉ.
hitcû'ᵉckê'.	hitcû'ᵉjô'ŋk' (tcuᵉ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ᵉwiᵉ.
hitcâᵉ.	hitcaᵉwiᵉ.
hitcû'ŋk'.	
hitcak'â'ro (friend).	

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuᵉwiᵉ*, *wiᵉ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiᵉ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ge*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicik'*, and *hitcû'ᵉ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'â hitcak—k'â'*, *hi-a'nic hi-u'ni*, *hiwâ'ŋ—k'*, *wcitc—k'â'*, *hinûŋgle*, *hide—k' hiwan—gi'*, *teidê*,

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601 193 *wadekdtri*, and *hinû'ñk-teek'*. Hinûnga's might be said to be divided into *hinuq* and *ga*, but there is no reason to assume that such a division of the word is justifiable, and for that reason it has not been included in the enumeration of *hinû'n- k'* stems. The form *teido*, elder brother, spoken by females, is baffling, all the more so if we assume that there never was a form for "younger brother" used by women.

601 Let us now separate the terms applied to relatives through marriage from those applied to blood relatives.

Blood relatives	Relatives through marriage	Blood relatives	Relatives through marriage
Hini	Hirîk'â	Waitc- k'ê'	Hitcu'ª
Hitcêᵘkê'	Hiciga'ª	Hinûñga'ª	Hi-uni'niŋk'
Hik'ino- k'ê'	Hitcêᵘwi'	Hiele' k', hiiekaxi'ŋk'	Hinûnga'ª
Hitcu- k'ê'		Teiele'	
Hi-e'ntc	Wadekdi'ici	Hitcêᵘwi'	
Hi-u'ni; hi-unini'ŋk	Hiwaŋgê'	Hiniŋk'	
Hiêê'ª-k'	Hinuŋk'tce'k'		

Three terms are applied sometimes to blood relatives and sometimes to relatives through marriage: *Hitcêᵘwi*, *hi-uni'niŋk'*, and *hinûnga'ª*. It is the author's belief that in all these cases the terms have been applied to relatives through marriage on account of the extremely close relationship the husbands of *hitcu'ªwi* and *hi-uni'niŋk'* and the wives of *hinûnga'ª* bear to one's parents; that it is really an act of courtesy toward people whose children are in one case (*hitcêᵘwi*ª and *hi-uni'niŋk'*) regarded as one's brothers and sisters and in the other case as the same as one's sister's children. There never was the slightest confusion as to the position held by the wife of one's father's brother (*hi-uni'niŋk'*), or one's mother's brother's wife, or the husband of one's mother's sister; nor is there the slightest indication that they ever were considered as identical with any blood relatives who bore the same name.

The foregoing list contains twenty-two terms of relationship applied by the Winnebago to all relatives, blood or otherwise, for five generations—one's own father's, grandfather's, son's, and grandson's. The two tables following show first, how these terms were distributed over the five generations, and second, to how many people of these five generations the same name was applied.

Generation	Male	Female
1. Grandfather's	Hitcek'ê'	Hi'k'ixek'ê'
2. Father's	Hi-e'ntc, hiele'k'	Hi-u'ni, hi-uniniŋk'
	Hinuŋga'ª, hitcu'ª	Hitcêᵘwi'
3. One's own	Hini, hinê'ŋk'	Hino, waitckê', hinûŋk' tce'k'
	Hitcêᵘkê', hideke-Niŋk', hitcu'ª, Wadekdi'ici, hirîk'ª	Hitcêᵘjô'ŋk', hitcêᵘwi', Hiwaŋgê', hiciga'ª
4. Son's	Hiniŋk', hitcêᵘkê', Hini, hinê'ŋk', Wadekdêri	Hinê'ŋk', hinûŋk' tce'k', Hitcuª jô'ŋk', hino, Waitckê'